1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241
433
463
[369]
[162]

Economic Orientation of the Population. The Baianos of the Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers, whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent, and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

[162]

241
433
441

Agriculture is even more important than the above figures indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products, supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 423 471 [249] Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned usinas controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator [565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 441 442 472 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region. [556] However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool and the Instituto Baiano do Fumo.[7]

249 471 472 656 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, while the policy of

Hutchinson E-4, 8 - (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

463
[632]
[441]

Group 1 (bureaucrats and merchants)	Federal and state employees	54
	Municipal employees	16
	Merchants	12
		82
Group 2 (service occupations)	Laundresses	46
	Ironers	17
	Electricians	1
	General servants	29
	Seamstresses	8
	Embroiderers	1
	Store cashiers	10
	Canoeists	2
	Bakery workers	4
		118
Group 3 (artisans)	Farmers	24
	Fishermen	132
	Bricklayers	6
	Barbers	6
	Carpenters	4
	Tailors	3
	Peddlers	3
	Woodworkers	2
	Coopers	1
	Butchers	1
	Shoemakers	1
	Quitandeiras[1]	1
		184

Group 3 workers employ the following number of people, either as employees or as apprentices:

Bricklayers	17
Workers in roças	13
Fishermen	5
Tailors	4
Woodworkers	1
Carpenters	1

[443]

1. Quitanda is an incipient store, usually run by a woman who sells vegetables and fruit from her windowsill.

159
632 years ago, after determining that these crops were not sufficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
463 cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this ven-
[242] ture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
159 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
632 in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
463 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted
653 it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be re-elected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

• 441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
463 The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from
443 Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as
[471] they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main
[428] street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
256 of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

[Town Life]

who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão."

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay.

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business.

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

226
[435] costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [422] Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn [441] on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the [461] services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (mocos). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in [465] Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

565*

ter) and homens de côr (men of color) including a few pretos (blacks).

Most individuals in this class are conscious of their "superiority" over the bulk of the town population, because of their higher economic status, the kind of work they do (usually white-collar), their better educations, better family traditions, and whiter, or at least lighter, skins. They are conscious of the fact that they are at the top of the scale on the local scene, and that to go any higher is impossible in the town. To do this they would have to move to a city. If one had a special ability he might be able to improve his condition in a large city, but he might also remain unrecognized. In the town he is the "big frog in the little pond," and this seems to give a certain amount of satisfaction to many.

[557]

People of Class B seek to maintain favorable relations with the rural landowners, who dispense the municipal patronage and have the contacts in Salvador necessary to influence federal and state appointments, since members of their families are frequently state and federal government representatives. Only the merchants of Class B are in a relatively independent position, for they can operate independently of politics. Their market is the town population and is in no way dependent upon trade or patronage from the planters or their workers. There are no traditional merchant families in Vila Recôncavo. All contemporary storekeepers are persons who have worked their way up from fishing or some other activity to storekeeping.

565* 447

565* 185

This class is slowly growing, and there are certain standards to which all its members conform, such as living in the old part of town, dressing with more care than the lower classes, supporting the church and patronizing the few religious holiday celebrations, sending their children to Salvador for their secondary education, owning radios, good dishes and furniture, displaying family solidarity and good manners, and maintaining a good relationship with members of Class A. But there is little or no cohesion among members of the group. They seldom act as a unit or express a group opinion (except to condemn candomblé, the local variation of African cultism).

[571]

565* 517

The social life of these people is definitely limited and to some extent follows the same pattern as that of the rural members of the same class, in that the men go out more than do their wives. The women of this group remain at home most

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

B
B B
668
567
175

and the doctrines of Christianity. The normal development of the emancipation process was never checked or seriously hampered by a wave of fear like that which swept over slave areas in the United States following the Haitian revolution and the consequent annihilation of Haitian whites and the slaughter of thousands of mulattoes and blacks.

Resistance to abolition was apparently never strong or well organized. It was not confined to any one section of the country but even in slaveholding centers like Bahia was, as we have seen, constantly being undermined by local criticism. An occasional newspaper "persisted in being a slave organ" or appeared "timid and acquiescent with reference to slavery,"[93] but the overwhelming majority of the press increasingly supported the antislavery cause.

B
BB
[204]

It is, however, true that commercial leaders like Ramalho Ortigão, president of the Bahian *Centro* of Commerce and Agriculture, "tenaciously opposed" the abolition movement. Anselmo da Fonseca says that Portuguese immigrants, many of whom engaged in trade and commerce, were, with rare exceptions, "decided partisans of slavery" and not only became "the greatest and most audacious slave traders of Bahia" who offered most of the opposition to the cessation of the slave traffic but also energetically opposed the abolition of slavery itself.[94] However, the prestige of this group,

BB
175
567
668
563 *
[441] •

[93] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[94] "The Portuguese cannot comprehend a Brazil without slaves. We hear daily from them, 'The Negro is peculiarly created by nature for the cultivation of sugar' " (*ibid.*, pp. 155-56). The Portuguese are said to have been the principal violators of the law of 1831, several of the more powerful of whom Euzebio de Queiroz felt impelled to deport when, some twenty years after the passage of this law legally abolishing the slave trade, he sought effectively to suppress the traffic. However, immigrant laborers, since they were in competition with slave laborers, ordinarily opposed slavery. See Henry K. Norton, *The Coming of South America* (New York, 1932), pp. 103-4.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

colored women. A common expression heard in this connection is: "I don't want to go back to Africa."

Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the economic and social position of the occasional immigrant, usually from Portugal or Spain. Ordinarily from the lower class, he arrives unattached, poor, and with little or no education. He meets a rigid class line and, at least during the first years, before he gains some measure of economic competence, is ordinarily cut off from a better class marriage. Moreover, in many cases he conceives of his stay as temporary. Many immigrants, especially among the Spanish, have left families in Europe to whom they expect to return once they have accumulated a sizable competence.

In his struggle to gain a footing, the immigrant soon discovers that the lower-class black or mixed-blood woman is a valuable assistant. She may become his cook and housekeeper, supplement his income by taking in washings or by preparing and peddling food delicacies, and ordinarily demands little in return. So frequently do such unions occur, especially among Portuguese immigrants, that the Portuguese have come to be popularly regarded, not only in Bahia but throughout Brazil, as peculiarly attached to Negro women.

However, as we have indicated, not all immigrant men living *amancebados* with Negro women are from Portugal. A number of the *vendas*, or small grocery stores, scattered about Bahia are owned by Spanish immigrants, many of whom live with Negro women, as similarly does occasionally an Italian, an Englishman, an American, or a German.[18]

[18] A German who had been manager of a nail factory in Bahia returned a few years ago to Germany. For sometime thereafter a Negro woman with whom he had lived and their son received 200 milreis regularly each month

5: Azevedo--60 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/46/

Commerce

441 472 554 The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

433 463 [162]

1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

563 472 The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

[233] [245] [249]

563 441 As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

[SALVADOR]

/46 cont./

*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new *563 472 441 [175] [848] [428] [671] firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the
/47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the
*563 Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations
•441 pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are re-
578 sponsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored
829 people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and
*563 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and
441 Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings
464 possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in
441 part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are
464 admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility,
472 but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants,
829 numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very [191] large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored [186] assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on [555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

[SALVADOR]

/48 cont./

*563 •441 472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. [452] A mulatto merchant, owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The ownership [581] of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 871 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.

[SALVADOR]

/50 cont./

*563 444 464 829 U277 *563 44 464

informant, "girls of light color are more readily accepted in these occupations, perhaps because they are content with salaries that are not as high as those the young men demand."

The statistics released by the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State of Bahia confirm these data. The physical characteristics of 273 persons registered during several months of 1950 as merchants or employees of commercial firms were the following:

Position in commerce	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Merchants:						
Men . . .	28	-	12	6	-	46
Women .	1	-	-	-	-	1
Employees in commerce:						
Men	80	10	63	42	13	208
Women. . .	8	-	8	2	-	18
Total . . .	117	10	83	50	13	273

One sees that among the merchants the majority is white; among the employees in commerce the majority is colored. This is explained by the fact that the profession of merchant is one in which the Whites predominate (1)

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

in part because social ascent in this sector depends on financial possibilities. The informants in general could with difficulty mention the name of more than three or four colored persons having a notable position in commerce. Nevertheless, the names of some dark merchants who have occupied important offices in the Trade Association and in other important social institutions are mentioned.